[illegible] no indications that it will. Yet there are possible signs of division in XII and XIII. Two men in these lineages are using rather than their father's name as a second name, one his grandfather's, and the other his great-grandfather's, names. The children are following this pattern, which may be the beginning of two new lineages. No explanation was available.

Both Table 6 and Figure 7 show that the lineages are of very unequal generational depth. In some cases this is because some lineages are older, genealogically, than others. In other cases, it is because some lineages have reproduced faster than others. These two factors combine to give a range of depth of from four to ten generations, if we follow Figure 5. The study is six generations, the average is seven, even then six.

It will be observed that the eponymous ancestors of lineages XII and XVI are placed in the fifth generation of descent from Mongor Jorjo of Kinani in Table 6, whereas they appear in the third generation in Figure 5. The reason for this discrepancy is this: in both cases there are on the original genealogy men with the appropriate name and in the proper position in both generations. In each case, either man, the first or a grandson, could have been the eponymous ancestor, and no one knows which. The remaining lineage names, represented by the letters A, B, and C, are all eponymous, being Abi Yiwala, Abi Ibrowal, and Abi Maja, respectively. Their sons were Yiwala, Ibrowal, and Maja, respectively. Ibrowal and Maja are represented as XIII and XVII, respectively, because these two men (or two grandsons who were their namesakes), were the ancestors of present minimal lineages which bear their names. Figure 7 places the eponymous ancestors of these lineages in the center of the alternative generations to emphasize the following fact. The names of Maximal Lineages B and C are retained in the names of present minimal lineages, whereas the name of Maximal Lineage A, the largest, has been eliminated. This fact was recognized by the villagers, but they could not see any reason for it, or significance in it.

Figure 7 suggests that there are three patterns of formation of minimal lineages: (1) derivation from sets of brothers, (2) derivation of one lineage from a father, of others from his younger sons; (3) derivation of one minimal lineage from another, e.g., the derivation of a lineage from one man, of another from his grandson.

This entire argument has been severely handicapped by the fact that we must either accept the genealogy on which Table 6 and Figure 7 were based at its face value, or we give it any detailed consideration at all. The former course has been followed, but the possibility must be kept in mind that the genealogy may be very inaccurate. The Arabs, and other Semites, have always been fond of explaining history in genealogical terms, with great distortion as a result. Daghestani (1952, pp. 176-78) warns explicitly against taking Arab genealogies of any size at their face value.

[illegible] The genetic basis for lineage which is used in Mongol is not (properly)

[illegible]

[illegible] tation, but he continues loyalty to the community followups and modes which have been acquired mainly by the rules of the church." (Tannous, 1946, p. 140.) We can safely assume that prior to about seventy-five years ago al-Qaraq, Mtaniqil and the Mtaniqilis conformed to all these traditional patterns. Many of them still continue to live.

[illegible] Our purpose now is to sort out the old and the new in the present culture as it has been described in Part One, to indicate the differential effects of change on the three major themes of village life as they have been outlined by Tannous, and, in the two following chapters, to put these differential effects into theoretical perspective.

Before we move upon this three-part analysis, we must say something about the origins of the village and the sequence of events in its development.

THE FOUNDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF AL-QARAQ

[illegible] Of the founding of the village we have only the rather vague beliefs of the present villagers for information, namely, that the founder was an emigrant from Syria, and that there were apparently no other inhabitants in the present territory of the village when he arrived. We have seen that a maximum of twelve generations (or 1, according to the genealogy, descended from the founder. If we allow thirty years for each generation, we set the founder's birth date at approximately 1700, and believe that he must have come to the village site sometime during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. This reasoning is based on some arbitrary assumptions, and it would be absurd to insist on too detailed a reconstruction or for an dates are meaningful.

However, there are two related sets of evidence at hand which lend credence to the notion that the village was founded sometime in the early part of the seventeenth century. Rizeq (1930, p. 374), in discussing the origins of the town of Ras al-Matn, which is somewhat north of and related from Beirut, says that the ancestors of several of the Orthodox families there came from Damascus in the seventeenth century to escape the religious persecution in Syria. From 1708 to 1635, Lebanon was ruled efficiently and justly by a Druze Amir, Fakhr al-Din II, and during this period, which is considered one of the golden ages in Lebanese history, Sfeir (1916, p. 422) says, "According to Volney, Christian families migrated to Lebanon 'daily' from Syria to escape Turkish rule." It is reasonable to assume that Mansour Jurjis al-Khazen and his family were among this throng.

Why did they settle in al-Qaraq? This no one knows. It may be that they had been persuaded there by relatives. At the present time there are two large, prominent Orthodox families in Beirut all of which "return to" a common ancestor named Sakkis who supposedly came from Mtaniqil on to site. It is thought that Sakkis must have been either a brother or a cousin of Mansour Jurjis. Whatever the real circumstances were, there is a plausible explanation for the settlement of

a particularly advanced district in the physical sense—most favored districts had already been occupied by others.

We have seen that the village territory was subsequently divided into three equal parts, each of which came in time to be dominated by a particular lineage, each descended from a son of the founder. The main house cluster was said to have been first located somewhat below the church, in a cove. This location made the community completely invisible from the coastal highway, and this was described by one informant as a necessary defensive measure. He added that he had heard that in the old days, when men went down to Sidon to work their fields, they went in armed groups to protect themselves against marauding bands of Muslims. This was presumably during the century and more of virtual anarchy which followed the reign of Fakhr ad-Din II. As the village grew in population, the house cluster was extended up and along the crest of the ridge, Lineage A occupying the upper part, Lineage C the lower part. Lineage B members lived mostly at Ta'ifeh, surrounding the shrine of Mar-Mikhael, and only very recently moved entirely into the eastern and upper portions of the main house cluster.

We have seen that at present the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects the clustering of the houses by survival lineage. Some of the exceptions to this patterning, especially in the highest part of the village, are due to very recent purchases of land and new construction. Those in the cove, however, were explained by one informant as follows: "Maybe a hundred years ago many people were very poor. They sold their land to people in 'Arnabeh. Then later some others bought it again. We don't know who they all were. People went to America to make money and then they came back."

There is at hand what might well be external evidence of this episode. Churchill (1972, vol. I, pp. 72–73), writer of the spectacular tale of one Michael Tarbox, a Maronite from 'Arnabeh, "Making his native village of Arnabeh the centre of his operations, he conceived a system which soon brought him into intimate relations with the entire neighboring population—that of lending advances of money on the silk crops. . . . Tarbox has become an extensive landed proprietor, and as a landlord his character is unimpeachable."

Until about seventy-five years ago, Mtein was a very nearly self-sufficient and self-contained community. We can assume that a good proportion of its wheat always had to be imported. As a matter of fact, Sidon used to serve as a point of entry for imported goods which were brought to it by boat; this mode of transportation being cheaper, safer, and easier than overland transport. It was also, apparently, a regular practice for a number of men to do seasonal wage labor in other districts. One specialty of this type, which was heretofore but profitable, was forage-cutting.

But these activities do not seem to have essentially lessened the village's subsistence isolation. It was common in those days, according to one informant, to re-

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to the town, is impossible under present circumstances. The most important crops are olives, figs, and grapes, none of which requires irrigation in the growing season. The orchards and vineyards grow on terraced land which is situated generally on the lower parts of the ridge slopes and at the heads of the wadis. Some vegetables and a few small orchards of mulberries (remnants of the once predominant cash crop—silk) grow immediately adjacent to the houses.

Al-Mansūf can be seen from a distance quite some time before the traveler enters it. The houses, varying in color from white to gray to tawny, are perched, one directly above another, it seems, on the southern slope of the ridge — a few are on the crest itself, or its highest point. They number about 90 and are typical of the Lebanese countryside. About one-quarter of them have the pitched roofs of red tile and other architectural features which are reminders of the decades before World War I. The majority, however, are of a much more ancient style, with few windows and a flat roof made of timbers and a thick layer of packed earth. In some cases, the old earth roofs have been entirely replaced by cement ones. A few houses have been built completely anew in recent years, but with two exceptions they are not particularly different in general style from the older ones. Household furnishings and equipment show the considerable influence of industrialized Europe and America — mostly the former. Kerosene pressure lanterns and stoves have almost completely replaced older forms. Bedsteads, wardrobes, tables, and chairs — all of European manufacture and/or design — are used in every house. However, the village has no electricity and no system of running water.

From the observation of physical materials, one may easily deduce that al-Mansūf partakes both of the traditional and of the recently imported (that is, since the late 19th century). It therefore reflects the transitional culture change which at present colors life in Lebanon and in the Middle East generally. But material aspects of culture are only fragmentary indications of behavior. In themselves, they reveal little of a specific nature concerning motivations, loyalties, hopes, fears, and expectations. How did al-Mansūf, as a community of people, come into being? What are its traditional foundations of life? How, and to what extent, have its traditions been altered by the far-reaching cultural changes of the late 19th and 20th centuries? What problems face its people as a result of these changes?

II

According to tradition, al-Mansūf was established by a man who came to the site from Jabal Shaʿrūra in Syria, after a sojourn in Baalbek. All the 275 members of the village are believed to be direct descendants of the founder, a belief which is indicated in a genealogy which is in the possession of the priest. There is some disagreement among the villagers as details

in the genealogy, but there is no disagreement on their ultimate origin in the same man, often referred to as "our forefather." On the basis of the number of generations accounted for in the chart, it appears that the founder was probably born sometime late in the 18th century. Historical material is available which gives a clue to the reason for the founding of the village and at the same time supports the estimate of the date suggested by the genealogy. The reign of the Amir Fakhr al-Din II (1590–1635) is known to have been a period in which many Syrian Christians sought refuge in Lebanon to escape Turkish persecution. It is reasonable to suppose that the founder of al-Munsif, a Greek Orthodox Christian, was one of them. The probable date of the establishment of the village suggests, further, the reason for the selection of a site which is far from ideal for agricultural purposes: the better-favored areas in Lebanon had already been occupied by other groups.

Once established, what manner of village was al-Munsif? Everything that can be learned about "the old days" indicates that it must have been typical of the traditional pattern of village life in the Middle East, which in turn fits the criteria of the "folk community," as understood by sociologists in general.[1] Life in al-Munsif, then, prior to the last quarter of the 19th century when the great cultural changes began, was focused on four major themes:

1. *Direction in the Land.* Agriculture was the economic base of the community, the occupation of all its members except for a few specialists who also were often part-time farmers.

2. *Religious orientation.* Religious attitudes permeated all aspects of life; religious behavior was integrated with economic and family behavior. The religious affiliation of the village was sharply defined.

3. *Predominance of kinship contacts* in the patterning and regulation of interpersonal affairs, for example in mutual aid arrangements. The kinship group was a locus of intense loyalty for its members, so much so that members of the same lineage were often preferred in marriage.

4. *Extreme localism of knowledge, interests, and loyalties.* This was reflected in the prevalence of near-village feuds and in the clear preference for the marriage of an individual to a member of his or her own village rather than to an outsider. ("Village endogamy.")

In the case of al-Munsif, there were a few variations on this normal structure. On the economic side, first, a certain element of fishing has always been done right from the village itself. Second, the necessity of importing wheat has always made some money income imperative. It was therefore common for village men to do wage labor in other communities to obtain this income. Sponge diving was one such seasonal occupation, profitable but dangerous.

[1] See, for example, Thomas Ashanin in the Village Community of Lebanon," American Journal of Sociology, vol. 41 (1936), pp. 191–96; "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution (for 1936), pp. 425–42.